

Scottish Religious Orders at The Reformation

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ON 1st October, 1557 Pope Paul IV granted a plenary absolution to Robert Purves canon of Scone in priest's orders who had apostasised and left his monastery but secretly retaining his habit had gone to Rome, where now he repented and desired to return to Scone.¹ This brief appearance on record in the Vatican archives is amplified by his witnessing a charter in March 1557 and signing one in October 1570.² It is not known why Purves had left his house but his journey to the curia suggests that he was repelled rather than attracted by the progress of the reformed faith in Scotland. He did not put his life in jeopardy after 1560 by the saying of mass nor on the other hand did he serve in the reformed kirk. Perhaps we may take him as typical of the majority of the regular clergy in Scotland, fearful of change, covetous of security and indifferent to religious principle. But if this is the majority, there remains a significant minority who can be distinguished only by a study of the careers of all the regular clergy.

A study of the English religious orders at the time of the suppression of the monasteries or at the time of the Reformation era in England has been available since 1937.³ A comparable study has yet to be attempted for Scotland; however, the realisation of the need as well as some substantial contributions towards such a study have been made by the late Dr. D. E. Easson and in various articles contained in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625*, edited by Rev. David McRoberts.⁴ This paper will add to what has been done already by attempting to discover

¹ Brev. Lat. (Vatican Archives), 61, fos. 331-333v.

² GRH. Charters, no. 1701; *Scone Liber*, 212.

³ G. Baskerville, *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries*, London, 1937.

⁴ D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, London, 1957; "The Reformation and the Monasteries in Scotland and England: some comparisons", *Trans. Scot. Ecclesiol. Soc.*, vol. xv, Part I, 22. Articles by A. Ross and Professor G. Donaldson in the *Essays*.

how the Scottish Reformation affected no less than 697¹ individual canons, friars and monks who served in the pre-Reformation church and will attempt to establish how many in each order served in the reformed church and what happened to the majority and the others.

The Benedictine, Cistercian, Carthusian and Valliscaulian monks received their portions after the Reformation and were still entitled to their "chambers and yards" which provided them with an adequate income to maintain a reasonable standard of living. Although there was substantial financial inducement for a monk to serve in the reformed church, it is now evident that the vast majority of monks fail to appear on the lists of reformed clergy. This was possibly due more to the fact that the monks were not equipped either mentally or socially to plunge into the hardships of the parish ministry than to the fact that they had a satisfactory financial position. Many of the monks who served in the reformed church did so in abbey churches or in churches appropriated to their abbeys which were nearby so that they could enjoy the "chamber and yard" as well as the house and garden of the parish church.

Out of approximately two hundred and sixteen Benedictine (in which are included Cluniac and Tironensian) monks who have been identified at the eleven houses in the period 1540-1580, at least one hundred and forty nine continue to appear in 1555-60. As many as eighteen Benedictines served in the reformed church and all but one of these were relatively new members of their respective monasteries, appearing for the first time after 1550 in the sources examined. The actual dates of membership in the monasteries and the ages of the monks can not be ascertained from these data, but a pattern emerges which indicates that they were young men with possible monastic careers ahead of them. When their careers were made abortive by the Reformation, they had the alternative of either sublimating into a passive monasticism or taking the live option of service in the reformed church. Some with family and others with hopes of wife and family realised the need for a larger income; hence the material interest in taking on a parish. What appears to be applicable to the Benedictines would evidently be true of all the young members of the religious orders who conformed and served in the reformed church. The monks who served in the reformed church were recruited from six of the Benedictine monasteries and apparently no one served from Crossraguel, Iona, Lesmahagow, Pluscarden and possibly Paisley. Five out of a possible

¹ This figure is drawn from the author's unpublished Glasgow Ph.D. thesis on the *Scottish Clergy at the Reformation*. This is the source for all such figures used throughout this paper.

twenty four monks of Arbroath served in the reformed church.¹ As many as six of the seventeen monks of Lindores took offices in the new church.² Three monks from Dunfermline,³ two from Kilwinning,⁴ one from Kelso,⁵ and one from Coldingham⁶ possibly also served in the reformed church. The majority of the churches served were appropriated to the abbeys.

Of the no less than one hundred and fifty Cistercian monks who have been identified at the eleven houses in 1559, eighteen monks possibly served in the reformed church. All the houses provided monks to the reformed church except Balmerino and Beaully. The numbers from each abbey were: four from Coupar Angus,⁷ three from Culross,⁸ two from Deer,⁹ one from Dundrennan,¹⁰ two from Glenluce,¹¹ three from Kinloss,¹² one from Melrose,¹³ one from New Abbey¹⁴ and possibly one from New-

- ¹ David Black (Kingoldrum), Ninian Clement (Arbroath), Thomas Gormok (Rescobie), Nicholas Howeson (Auldearn), Thomas Lindsay (Arbroath); *Yester Writs*, no. 676; *Laing Chrs.*, no. 684; *Register of Ministers*, 15; *Thirds of Benefices*, 231-3; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 338.
- ² John Webster (Monimail), Thomas Wood (Abdie), William Simson (Abdie), Patrick Galt (Kinglassie), Andrew Forrester (Dysart), John Mason (Auchtermuchtie); *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iii, 391, 393-4; *Laing, Lindores Abbey*, 523; *Essays*, 138; *Thirds of Benefices*, 243-5; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 364.
- ³ John Dury (Parton), John Henderson (Cleish), Alexander Stevin (Beath); *Yester Writs*, no. 678; *Laing Chrs.*, no. 633; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 363; *Thirds of Benefices*, 291.
- ⁴ Alexander Henderson (Ardrossan), William Kirkpatrick (Kilwinning); *Laing Chrs.*, no. 691; *Register of Ministers*, 38.
- ⁵ Thomas Turnet (Yetholm); *Laing Chrs.*, no. 441; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 375.
- ⁶ William Hud (Stitchill); GRH. Charters, no. 1686; *Register of Ministers*, 11.
- ⁷ Alexander Anderson (Kincardine), James Anderson (Bendochy), Robert Drysdale (Bendochy), Andrew Moncur (Blairgowrie); *Coupar Angus Chrs.*, nos. CLXXII, CXC, CC; *Register of Ministers*, 19; *Thirds of Benefices*, 253; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 354, 360.
- ⁸ John Hutchison (Crombie), Walter Miller (Culross), Andrew Trumbull (Greenlaw); *Laing Chrs.*, nos. 442, 782; *Register of Ministers*, 26; *Thirds of Benefices*, 152.
- ⁹ Gilbert Chisholm (Deer), David Howeson (Philorth); Fraser Charters (GRH), no. 122; *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, iv, 24; *Register of Ministers*, 64.
- ¹⁰ John Wright (Gelston); GRH. Charters, no. 1331; *Thirds of Benefices*, 294.
- ¹¹ David Frizzell (Cults), John Sanderson (Glenluce); *Wigt. Chrs.*, nos. 55, 60; *Register of Ministers*, 24; *Thirds of Benefices*, 292.
- ¹² Alexander Baid (Altyre), William Brown (Ardlach), John Philip (Dunbennan); Fraser, *Grant*, iii, 115; Stuart, *Kinloss*, 149; *Register of Ministers*, 62, 64; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 339.
- ¹³ Thomas Haliwell (Melrose); *Melrose Recs.*, iii, 150; *Register of Ministers*, 41.
- ¹⁴ Patrick Cowill (Lochkindeloch); Fraser, *Carlaverock*, ii, 469; *Laing Chrs.*, no. 724; *Thirds of Benefices*, 292.

battle.¹ At least five of the monks served in their own abbey churches and possibly did so even before the Reformation. Unlike the Benedictines, the Cistercians had no strong objections to undertaking parochial responsibilities before the Reformation; however, the rate of conformity and service in the post-Reformation church is very similar to that of the Benedictines. Hence, the Cistercians were not more likely to serve in the reformed church because of their pre-Reformation inclination towards service. Like the Benedictines, the majority of the Cistercian monks who served did so in churches which were appropriated to their abbeys. Of the Cistercians who did not serve in the reformed church, all that is known for some of them is that their vacant portions were gifted after their deaths. The thirteen portions of Melrose Abbey are the only monks' portions mentioned in the *Thirds of Benefices* and this helps to number the members of the abbey after the Reformation,² but why Melrose is the only abbey mentioned in this source is obscure.

Of the remaining orders, the lone Carthusian house of Perth possibly had ten monks at the Reformation and one possibly served in the reformed church. John Sim, junior, was possibly reader at Stracathro.³ There were five Valliscaulian monks at Ardchattan at the Reformation and it is doubtful whether any of them served in the reformed church. David Thomson has the same name as the reader at Suddy in Ross, but it is not possible to make a definite connection⁴ because his name is a common one and because Suddy is some distance from Ardchattan.

This brings the total of monks of all orders to approximately three hundred and fourteen and of these as few as thirty seven served in the reformed church. Perhaps, the majority of monks lacked "intellectual interests or love of religious dialectic" and simply collected their portions and were indifferent to the changes made by the Reformation.⁵

Turning to the Augustinian canons, there were seventeen houses with approximately one hundred and forty two members at the Reformation. There is no evidence for Canonbie, Oronsay or Restennet although there might have been a few canons at these houses before the Reformation. Portmoak, otherwise known as Loch Leven Priory, had a prior, Mr. John

¹ George Simson (Hutton); Dalhousie Muniments, Section 16, no. 317; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 373.

² *Thirds of Benefices*, 157, 281.

³ King James VI Hospital, Perth, Muniments (GRH), Section 2, no. 58; *Thirds of Benefices*, 234.

⁴ OPS, II, i, 149; *Register of Ministers*, 51.

⁵ D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, iii, 55.

Winram (sub-prior of St. Andrews), but appears to be part of the priory of St. Andrews at the Reformation.¹ Although nine canons of Pittenweem Priory subscribed to a charter in 1542, the convent appears to be integrated with the convent of St. Andrews before the Reformation because there is a joint deed in 1555 and a charter in 1566 with signatories from both priories. Therefore, for the purpose of this paper the two priories will be evaluated as if they were one—St. Andrews.²

Blantyre, St. Mary's Isle and Strathfillan Priors had priors; however, there is no evidence that there were any members in the convents at the Reformation. The small priory of Blantyre was described as a non-conventual and dependent cell of Jedburgh which was usually held by a canon of Jedburgh before the Reformation.³ In 1552 Mr. William Chirnside evidently a secular holding the priory *in commendam*, was presented to the priory; he conformed and served the parish of Blantyre which was part of the priory church as minister or exhorter in 1563, 1567-71 with the third of the priory allowed.⁴ Mr. Robert Richardson was commendator of St. Mary's Isle at the Reformation and received a £1,000 pension in 1562.⁵ John Paterson was prior of Strathfillan in 1555 and was deceased before 18 April, 1569.⁶

Jedburgh Abbey had as many as five canons and Monymusk had as many as four canons at the Reformation. The English burned Jedburgh Abbey in 1523, 1544, 1545 and subsequent history of the abbey remained quite obscure. There could have been about eight canons in 1545; however, the five canons who have been found are all from post-Reformation sources.⁷ The four canons of Monymusk were members of the priory in 1549-50 and only one was still alive in 1574.

The bulk of the Augustinian canons at the Reformation were members of the convents of the seven remaining Augustinian houses. Cambuskenneth Abbey had a possible nineteen members. Holyrood Abbey had as many as twenty two canons. Inchaffray Abbey had a possible fifteen canons. Inchcolm Abbey had as few as six or seven canons. There could have been as many as eleven canons at Inchmahome Priory. St. Andrew's

¹ Books of Assumption, fo. 68v.; *Thirds of Benefices*, 242.

² *Yester Writs*, nos. 590-1, 596; St. Andrews Charters (GRH), no. 323; GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

³ RSS, ii, 2475; *St. Andrews Formulare*, ii, nos. 353-4.

⁴ RSS, iv, 1683; v, 3319; *Thirds of Benefices*, 261; *Register of Ministers*, 32.

⁵ *Wgt. Charters*, no. 353; *Thirds of Benefices*, 156.

⁶ Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, 296; RSS, vi, 578.

⁷ *Essays*, 236; GRH. Charters, no. 2286; RSS, lviii, fo. 73.

Priory (with Pittenweem) had no less than forty three canons. Lastly, Scone Abbey had as many as sixteen canons.

Of these one hundred and forty two canons, as few as twenty one were canons regular who served as vicars. Notwithstanding that some were titular vicars who delegated the task of service to an underpaid curate, the remainder performed parochial duties and were accustomed to the hardships of parish life.¹

This number of canon-vicars is small at the Reformation in comparison with the fifteenth century because there were fewer canons available for service and the majority of the churches appropriated to the Augustinian houses were being served by secular priests. Cambuskenneth Abbey had three canon-vicars. John Painter was vicar of Clackmannan in 1558.² Andrew Row was possibly vicar of Fowlis-Easter in 1560.³ James Dalmahoy evidently served the abbey church before the Reformation.⁴ Holyrood Abbey had as many as five canon-vicars. George Crichton was vicar of Kirkcudbright and Balmaghie.⁵ Alexander Smethberd, who was in spiritual charge of the abbey in 1558, was more than likely only titular vicar of Urr.⁶ John Wilson was vicar of Kinghorn-Easter in 1544-60.⁷ Stephen Moffat was vicar of Tranent before 1544 and was "pretendit vicar" on 24th July, 1574 when he was deprived for non-conformity.⁸ Alexander Forester was vicar of Kinneil in 1552.⁹ Inchaffray Abbey had possibly three canon-vicars. Partick Murray was vicar portioner at Fowlis-Wester at the Reformation.¹⁰ William Oliphant was vicar of Trinity Gask¹¹ and was possibly titular as William Melrose another of the canons apparently served the cure of souls at Trinity Gask before the Reformation.¹² George Spens possibly held the vicarage of Kinkell at the Reformation and was deceased vicar in 1588.¹³ Inchcolm Abbey had at least one

¹ *Essays*, 139.

² *Laing Chrs.*, nos. 505, 687.

³ *Ibid.*, 505, 687; *RSS*, vii, 72.

⁴ *Camb. Reg.*, xxxv; *Laing Chrs.*, no 904; *Register of Ministers*, 27.

⁵ Society of Antiquaries Muniments (GRH), Section 1, no. 39; *RSS*, vi, 1148-9.

⁶ *Holyrood Liber*, 158; GRH, Charters, no. 1749(a).

⁷ Swinton Charters (GRH), no. 119; Books of Assumption (GRH), fos. 95v., 96.

⁸ PRO, 31/9/33/165; *RSS*, vi, 2608.

⁹ *Laing Chrs.*, nos. 693, 1025; *Prot. Bk. Foulis*, no. 195.

¹⁰ *Inchaffray Chrs.*, Intro., xcvi, c; *RSS*, lxiii, fo. 151.

¹¹ Reg. of Abbrev. of Feu Chrs. of Church Lands (GRH), i, fo. 31; *RSS*, v, 2647.

¹² *Inchaffray Chrs.*, Intro., xcix; Scott, *Fasti*, viii, 385.

¹³ *Inchaffray Chrs.*, Intro., xcix; *RSS*, lvii, fos. 71v, 81.

canon-vicar. Andrew Angus was vicar of Leslie at the Reformation.¹ Alexander Drysdale, vicar of Leny, was the only canon-vicar of Inchmahome Priory.² St. Andrew's Priory had three, possibly four, canon-vicars. David Guthrie was vicar of Dull in 1555.³ In 1553 James Baldowry was vicar of St. Andrews-Holy Trinity and on 24th July, 1557 he resigned the vicarage perpetual of Fowlis-Easter.⁴ Mr. Robert Ogilvy was vicar of Leuchars in 1544 and was deceased vicar before 25th Feb., 1577.⁵ Mr. Adam Heriot possibly held the vicarage of St. Andrews-Holy Trinity before the Reformation; was in possession in 1563.⁶ He evidently was titular because Sir Robert Smith was curate at St. Andrews-Holy Trinity in 1557.⁷ Scone Abbey had no less than four canon-vicars. Henry Abercrombie, prior of Scone, was vicar of Logierait at the Reformation.⁸ William Hepburn was vicar of Logie-Dundee and was possibly titular as John Elder was curate in 1553.⁹ William Abercrombie was possibly pre-Reformation vicar pensioner of Redgorton.¹⁰ James Hepburn was possibly pre-Reformation vicar pensioner of Blairgowrie.¹¹ All of the Augustinian canon-vicars held vicarages which were appropriated to their respective houses except Andrew Row, canon of Cambuskenneth, who was vicar at Fowlis-Easter, a church appropriated to St. Andrew's Priory.

For the seven canon-vicars who conformed, the transition from the old order to the new was a matter of changing two masters, their diocesan and their abbot or prior for one master, bishop, superintendent or commissioner whichever the case might be. They received their portions plus their benefices and were allowed their thirds as part of their stipends. Two canon-vicars of Cambuskenneth served in the reformed church. James Dalmahoy was reader and exhorter at Cambuskenneth in 1567-74.¹² Andrew Row was exhorter at Lecropt in 1567-8, 1571-2.¹³ Alexander

¹ *Inchcolm Chrs.*, pp. 70, 72-3; Books of Assumption, fo. 98v.

² Hutton Coll., vii, fo. 73.

³ PRO, 31/9/33/314; Books of Assumption (GRH), fo. 101v.

⁴ St. Andrews Charters, no. 316; PRO, 31/9/33/346.

⁵ Rossie Priory MSS. (GRH), nos. 70-1; RSS, vii, 923; St. Andrews Charters, no. 323.

⁶ *Thirds of Benefices*, 242, 247; St. Andrews Charters, no. 330.

⁷ St. Andrews Charters, no. 330.

⁸ *Scone Liber*, 207, 212; Books of Assumptions, fo. 312v.

⁹ *Banff Chrs.*, no. 59; *Scone Liber*, 212; Prot Book of Duncan Gray (GRH), fo. 6.

¹⁰ *Scone Liber*, 207, 212; RSS, vii, 1337.

¹¹ *Banff Chrs.*, no. 59; RSS, vii, 574.

¹² *Register of Ministers*, 27; *Thirds of Benefices*, 252; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 360.

¹³ *Thirds of Benefices*, 252; *Register of Ministers*, 27.

Forester canon-vicar of Holyrood was minister of Liberton in 1562.¹ George Spens, reader at Madderty in 1574,² was canon-vicar of Inchaffray Abbey. Andrew Angus, reader at Leslie, was canon-vicar of Inchcolm Abbey.³ Mr Adam Heriot, minister of St. Andrews-Holy Trinity in 1559-60, was canon-vicar of St. Andrew's Priory.⁴ Alexander Drysdale, reader at Tillicoultry (a church appropriated to Cambuskenneth Abbey), was canon-vicar of Inchmahome.⁵ Six of the canon-vicars served in churches appropriated to their houses and three of these served in the churches where they held the vicarages. With only a third of the canon-vicars conforming, it is apparent that the majority of the Augustinian canon-vicars retained their portions and two thirds of the revenues of their benefices and this without participating in the arduous task of the reformed ministry. This possibly indicates that although they had valuable parochial experience, either they were not qualified to serve or they were unwilling to serve in the reformed church.

Thirty-six Augustinian canons who had not previously held a parochial benefice retained their portions and added a stipend or benefice by serving in the reformed church. William Moscrop, canon of Jedburgh, was possibly minister of Anwoth in 1563.⁶ James Murray, canon of Monymusk,⁷ was minister of Monymusk in 1563-4, 1567, 1570-1 and reader in 1574.⁸ He was the "only levand of the convent of Monymusk" and a "pure ageit man and having na thing ellis to sustene him and his familie upoun" when the Lords of council assured him of his £20 "pensioun or portioun" for the rest of his lifetime in 1574.⁹ David Hagy, reader of Kincardine,¹⁰ and Robert Bell, possibly reader at Polwarth,¹¹ were canons of Cambuskenneth. Andrew Blackhall, song teacher and minister of Cranston and Ormiston,¹² Peter Blackwood, minister of Aberdour,¹³ and William Heslop, possibly reader at Stow,¹⁴ were canons of Holyrood. William Melrose, exhorter at

¹ *BUK*, i, 13.

² *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 359.

³ *Thirde of Benefices*, 151.

⁴ *Thirde of Benefices*, 242, 247.

⁵ *Register of Ministers*, 27.

⁶ *Thirde of Benefices*, 291; *RSS*, lviii, fo. 73.

⁷ *Aberdeen-Banff Coll.*, 180.

⁸ *Thirde of Benefices*, 222; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 345.

⁹ *Reg. of Privy Council*, ii, 389-90.

¹⁰ *Register of Ministers*, 30; *Laing Chrs.*, nos. 505, 904.

¹¹ *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 360; *Register of Ministers*, 12; *Fraser Chrs. (GRH)*, no. 194.

¹² *Laing Chrs.*, nos. 693, 1025; *Essays*, 149; *Register of Ministers*, 9.

¹³ *Laing Chrs.*, nos. 693, 1025; *Register of Ministers*, 25-6.

¹⁴ *Society of Antiquaries (GRH)*, Section 1, no. 39; *Wod. Misc.*, i, 369.

Trinity Gask,¹ Alexander Murray, reader at Kinkell,² and William Ruthven, reader at Trinity Gask,³ were canons of Inchaffray. John Brownhill, reader of Dalgety, was a canon of Inchcolm.⁴ William Stirling, reader at Port of Menteith, was a canon of Inchmahome.⁵

The largest Augustinian house, St. Andrews, constitutes a particular problem. At a number of other houses such as Arbroath, Melrose, Whit-horn or Holyrood, there is an excellent series of charters from 1540 onwards signed by members of the respective convents. Although each charter need not record the whole convent at any one time, the series is so good that the changing personnel of the house can be established with a fair degree of confidence and in particular the names of the newer monks or canons of the 1550s. These were presumably the younger element. With St. Andrews however, there are only three charters from which names can be derived and the earliest of these is of 1555. They yield forty names to which three can be added from other sources, but plainly it cannot be ascertained which of their number were the younger canons. The records of the University however show some conforming canons as students in the faculty of arts in the 1550s and early 1560s and these were presumably younger men. It is moreover unlikely that St. Andrews departed from the general pattern which shows the conforming religious to have been in the main younger men.

Mr. John Winram, student of St. Andrews University in 1515 and sub-prior of St. Andrew's Priory in 1555-66, became superintendent of Fife and Strathearn in 1561.⁶ With the aid of Lord James Stewart, one of the leaders of the reforming party, and Robert Stewart, the reforming bishop (both sometime commendators of the Priory), he possibly directed into the reformed ministry some of the twenty canons who are to be discussed. Whether this influence was the deciding factor in a locality where the reforming ideas were so prevalent remains an open question, but what is certain is that St. Andrew's Priory and St. Andrew's University made substantial contributions to the reformed church.

Five of the canons of St. Andrews served in churches appropriated to the priory in the deanery of Fife. Peter Ramsay was minister of Dairsie in

¹ *Inchaffray Chrs.*, Intro., xcix; *Register of Ministers*, 29.

² *Inchaffray Chrs.*, Intro., xcix, c; *Register of Ministers*, 29.

³ *Inchaffray Chrs.*, Intro., xcix, c; *Wod. Misc.*, i, 359.

⁴ *Inchcolm Chrs.*, pp. 72-3, 216; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 363.

⁵ Fraser, *Menteith*, ii, 333, 365; *Register of Ministers*, 30.

⁶ *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ii, 316; St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; GRH. Charters, no. 2015; *Reg. Kirk Session St. Andrews*, i, 72-3.

1567.¹ John Simson was minister of Scoonie in 1566.² John Ure was minister of Leuchars possibly as early as 1563.³ Alexander Sauchie was reader at Kennoway in 1567.⁴ John Flagear was reader at Forgan in 1566.⁵

At least six canons of St. Andrews served churches in the deanery of Fotheric and all but one of these churches were appropriated to the priory. Mr. Thomas Biggar, student of St. Andrews in 1563, was minister in 1564 of Kinghorn-Easter, a church appropriated to Holyrood.⁶ Mr. Peter Watson, student of St. Andrews in 1557, was minister of Markinch in 1563.⁷ Alexander Muir was minister of Kilgour in 1566.⁸ Mr. William Braidfute, student of St. Andrews in 1563, was minister of Kilgour in 1567-8.⁹ Both Mr. Braidfute and Mr. Biggar appear in the records as students before they are designated as canons; however, it is possible that they were canons before entering the university.¹⁰ John Renton was reader at Portmoak in 1566-7.¹¹ David Cook was reader at Lathrisk in 1566.¹²

Three churches appropriated to the priory in the deanery of Gowrie were served by canons of St. Andrews. Mr. Alexander Jardine was minister of Inchtute on 31st Dec., 1563 when he was suspended by the General Assembly for fornication and was minister again on 18th Jan., 1566.¹³ Apparently, the scarcity of ministers made forgiveness for fornication expedient in this particular case. Nicol Spittale served Longforgan as minister in 1566.¹⁴ David Robertson was minister of Rossie in 1566.¹⁵

The five remaining canons of St. Andrews served churches in the deaneries of Mearns and Linlithgow (the first three churches were appropriated to the priory). Patrick Bunkle (Boncle) was minister of Fordoun

¹ GRH. Charters, no. 2015; *Register of Ministers*, 24.

² GRH. Charters, no. 2015; *BUK*, i, 222.

³ St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; Scott, *Fasti*, v. 221.

⁴ St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; *Register of Ministers*, 25.

⁵ GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

⁶ *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ii, 423; *Thirde of Benefices*, 242; GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

⁷ *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ii, 413; *Thirde of Benefices*, 244; GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

⁸ St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

⁹ *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ii, 423; *Register of Ministers*, 24; *BUK*, i, 222.

¹⁰ There are no available records which date a canon's entrance into a religious house.

¹¹ GRH. Charters, no. 2015; *Register of Ministers*, 24.

¹² GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

¹³ *BUK*, i, 45; GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

¹⁴ GRH. Charters, no. 2015; *Register of Ministers*, 20.

¹⁵ GRH. Charters, no. 2015.

in 1563.¹ John Smith was possibly reader at Fordoun in 1563.² Patrick Kinloch was minister of Linlithgow in 1563.³ John Goodfellow was minister of Ecclesgreig in 1563.⁴ Mr. John Duncanson was minister of Stirling-Holy Rude in 1560.⁵

Finally, there were four canons of Scone who conformed, and three of these served in churches appropriated to the abbey. Thomas Morrison was minister of Scone in 1567.⁶ James Pitcairn was reader of Scone in 1567.⁷ John Blair possibly served as reader at Kinfauns in 1568.⁸ Thomas Cruikshank was minister of Lundeiff in 1567.⁹

Of the forty-three Augustinian canons who conformed, thirty-three served in churches appropriated to their religious houses. There were: twenty-two ministers; two exhorters; eighteen readers and one superintendent. The high percentage of ministers must have made a substantial impact on the early reformed church in the diocese of St. Andrews especially since fifteen of these ministers were canons from St. Andrews.

The financial inducement coupled with the influence of reforming superiors and local nobility (to say nothing of the personal religious convictions, vital and real as they might have been but incalculable in historical terms) explain why approximately thirty per cent of the Augustinian canons served in the reformed church. Furthermore, the fact that many of the conforming canons were relatively new members of the convents appears to indicate that security in the church was a more satisfactory option than a purely secular occupation; while it might also mean that they were young and zealous men who were responding to the prevalent reforming doctrines.

Approximately seventy per cent of the Augustinians did not serve in the reformed church and there is very little known about them. Because their vacant portions were gifted in the same manner as benefices, the deaths of many of the canons can be established. Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth, received as a gift the portions of certain

¹ St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; *Thirds of Benefices*, 234.

² St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; *Thirds of Benefices*, 235.

³ St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; *Prot. Bk. Johnsoune*, no. 678; *BUK*, i, 222.

⁴ *Thirds of Benefices*, 234; GRH. Charters, 2015; *BUK*, i, 222.

⁵ St. Andrews Charters, no. 323; *Stirling Recs.*, ii, 74.

⁶ GRH. Charters, no. 1701; *Register of Ministers*, 19.

⁷ *Scone Liber*, 207, 212; *Register of Ministers*, 19.

⁸ *Scone Liber*, 207; *Thirds of Benefices*, 252.

⁹ GRH. Charter no. 1701; *Register of Ministers*, 19.

unnamed canons in 1588.¹ Also, portions of unnamed canons of Inchmahome Priory were gifted to John, earl of Mar, in 1588.²

There were six houses of Premonstratensian canons with approximately fifty-seven members at the Reformation. Fearn Abbey had as many as five canons. Only two canons possibly made up the convent of Souleseat Abbey.³ Dryburgh Abbey had as many as twelve canons. Holywood Abbey had no less than eleven canons. Tongland Abbey had possibly eleven canons and Whithorn Priory had as many as sixteen canons.

Of these fifty-seven canons, at least sixteen were canon-vicars. Dryburgh Abbey had three canon-vicars. George Haliburton was vicar of Gullane at the Reformation.⁴ John Chatto, possibly pre-Reformation vicar, was deprived of the vicarage of Pencaitland in 1577.⁵ John Turnbull was evidently pre-Reformation vicar of Lessuden.⁶ There were four canon-vicars of Holywood Abbey. Andrew Haning, sub-prior of Holywood, was vicar perpetual of Dunscore in 1550 and was deceased vicar before 27th Nov., 1562.⁷ John Welsh was presented to the vicarage of Dunscore on 27th Nov., 1562.⁸ This could be an example of a canon receiving a benefice because of service in the reformed church, for John Welsh was exhorter of Dunscore in 1563-72 with the third of the vicarage allowed, or it might be a canon-vicar simply conforming to the new order. Robert Welsh was vicar of Tynron.⁹ Mungo McGhie was vicar pensioner of Holywood.¹⁰ There were possibly two canon-vicars at Souleseat Abbey. John Thomson was possibly pre-Reformation vicar pensioner of Souleseat.¹¹ John White was vicar of Kirkmaiden in 1562.¹² Whithorn Priory had as many as six canon-vicars. Frederick Bruce, sub-prior of Whithorn, was vicar of Toskertown in 1558 and resigned the vicarage in 1560.¹³ John Martin was vicar of Gelston.¹⁴ William Telfer was possibly vicar pensioner of

¹ RSS, lviii, fo. 73.

² RSS, lviii, fo. 110.

³ There seem to be no extant records for this abbey.

⁴ Books of Assumption, fo. 181; RSS, lxii, 77.

⁵ Books of Assumption, fo. 169; RSS, vii, 960.

⁶ *Dryburgh Liber*, 281, 302; *RMS*, iv, 2140.

⁷ *Prot. Bk. Carruthers*, no. 152; GRH. Charters, no. 1896.

⁸ *Thirds of Benefices*, 289, 292; GRH. Charters, nos. 1731, 1896, 2228.

⁹ PRO. 31/9/33/103; *Thirds of Benefices*, 93

¹⁰ RSS, iv, 1292; GRH. Charters, no. 1896.

¹¹ *Thirds of Benefices*, 294; Acts and Decrees (GRH), xcii, 387.

¹² Ailsa Muniments, Section I, no. 606; RSS, vii, 2243.

¹³ Deeds (GRH), ii, 457; RSS, v, 781; *Wigt. Chrs.*, no. 347.

¹⁴ Acts and Decrees (GRH), vii, 129; *Thirds of Benefices*, 294; *Wigt. Chrs.*, no. 265

Cruggleton before the Reformation.¹ Ralph Peirson was vicar of Kirkmaiden.² John Johnston was apparently pre-Reformation vicar of Whithorn.³ John Stewart was vicar pensioner of Kirkdale in 1552; however, he was also vicar (1541-1572) of Minnigaff, a church appropriated to Tongland Abbey.⁴ John Cannan, vicar of Tongland, was possibly the only canon-vicar of Tongland Abbey.⁵ Like their Augustinian counterparts, all the Premonstratensian canon-vicars with the possible exception of John Stewart held vicarages which were appropriated to their religious houses. In the case of John Stewart, he was vicar pensioner in 1552 of Kirkdale, a church appropriated to Whithorn Priory where he was canon, but there is no known evidence that he was vicar pensioner at the Reformation; on the other hand, he was vicar of Minnigaff at the Reformation and in 1563 conformed and served there as exhorter.⁶

Of the sixteen Premonstratensian canon-vicars, ten canon-vicars seem to have served in the reformed church. In comparison with the Augustinian canon-vicars, the Premonstratensian canon-vicars have over sixty per cent conforming while the Augustinians have only thirty-three per cent.

Age of the canon-vicars, location and influences are a few of the factors responsible for this difference. John Turnbull, possibly reader of Lessuden in 1567, 1576, was canon-vicar of Dryburgh Abbey.⁷ Three out of four canon-vicars of Holywood served in the reformed church. John Welsh was exhorter of Dunscore in 1563.⁸ Robert Welsh was reader of Tynron in 1561.⁹ Mungo McGhie was reader at Holywood in 1567.¹⁰ Both of the possible canon-vicars of Souleseat were readers. James Thomson was reader at Souleseat in 1563¹¹ and John White was reader at Kirkmaiden in 1574.¹² Four out of six canon-vicars of Whithorn Priory served in the reformed church. William Telfer was reader at Cruggleton in 1562, mass-

¹ *Thirds of Benefices*, 150, 289, 294; *Wigt. Chrs.*, no. 265.

² Galloway Charters (GRH), no. 88; *Thirds of Benefices*, 93; *Wigt. Chrs.*, nos. 33, 265.

³ *Thirds of Benefices*, 293; *RSS*, v. 3249; *Wigt. Chrs.*, nos. 35, 265.

⁴ Galloway Charters (GRH), no. 79; *RSS*, ii, 4024.

⁵ GRH. Charters, no. 1712.

⁶ *Thirds of Benefices*, 292; *Register of Ministers*, 49.

⁷ Scott, *Fasti*, viii, 152; *Register of Ministers*, 87.

⁸ *Thirds of Benefices*, 289, 292.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁰ *Register of Ministers*, 44.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 49; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 393.

¹² *Thirds of Benefices*, 295; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 393.

monger in 1563 and reader in 1567.¹ Here is just one instance of a reformed clergyman lapsing into his former practices.² The misdemeanour of mass-mongering on the first offence was apparently not serious enough to bar the offender from future participation in the reformed ministry. Ralph Peirson was reader at Kirkmaiden in 1561.³ John Jolinsson was reader at Whithorn in 1563⁴ and John Stewart was exhorter at Minnigaff in 1563.⁵ All ten of the canon-vicars served as exhorters and readers in the churches where they held the vicarages in comparison to the less than half of the Augustinian canon-vicars (three out of seven) who served in the churches where they held the vicarages. Like the Augustinian canon-vicars, nine Premonstratensian canon-vicars served in churches appropriated to their religious houses.

Fifteen Premonstratensian canons who had not previously held a parochial benefice retained their portions and added a stipend or benefice by serving in the reformed church. John Young, canon of Fearn, was possibly exhorter of Invernairn in 1567-8.⁶ Robert Milne, canon of Dryburgh, was possibly reader at Mertoun in 1574-6.⁷ William Haning, reader at Lochrutton in 1563,⁸ John Little, reader at Troqueer in 1563,⁹ and John Logan, possibly reader at Colvend in 1568-9,¹⁰ were canons of Holywood Abbey. William Sharpro, reader at Tongland in 1563,¹¹ James Mair, reader at Twynholm in 1567,¹² Thomas MacCutrie, reader at St. Mary's Isle (Galtway),¹³ James McCulloch, reader at Toskerton in 1563,¹⁴ Patrick Grant, reader at Kirkdale in 1563,¹⁵ and Edward Hering, reader at Tongland,¹⁶ were canons of Tongland. George Stevenson, reader at Long-

¹ *Thirds of Benefices*, 150, 289, 294; Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, I, ii, 428.

² Mass-mongering was quite common among the regular and the secular clergy. See Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* and *Reg. of the Privy Council*, vols. i-iv.

³ *Thirds of Benefices*, 93, 150, 290; *Register of Ministers*, 48.

⁴ *Thirds of Benefices*, 293.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 292; *Register of Ministers*, 49.

⁶ Hutton Coll., xi, part 2, fo. 12; *Register of Ministers*, 60.

⁷ *Dryburgh Liber*, 281, 316; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 375.

⁸ GRH. Charters, no. 1731; *Thirds of Benefices*, 292.

⁹ GRH. Charters, no. 1896; *Thirds of Benefices*, 291.

¹⁰ GRH. Charters, nos. 1731, 1896; *Thirds of Benefices*, 293.

¹¹ GRH. Charters, no. 1667; *Thirds of Benefices*, 292-3.

¹² GRH. Charters, no. 1667; *Registers of Ministers*, 50.

¹³ *Wigt. Chrs.*, no. 24a; *Thirds of Benefices*, 293.

¹⁴ GRH. Charters, no. 1667; *Thirds of Benefices*, 293.

¹⁵ GRH. Charters, no. 1667; *Thirds of Benefices*, 292.

¹⁶ *Wigt. Chrs.*, no. 346; *Register of Ministers*, 89.

castle in 1563,¹ Adam Fleming, reader at Whithorn in 1572,² John Kay, reader at Glasserton in 1570,³ and George Muir, possibly reader at Glasserton in 1590-1.⁴ were canons of Whithorn.

Of the twenty-five Premonstratensian canons who conformed, sixteen served in churches appropriated to their religious houses. There were: no ministers; three exhorters and twenty-two readers. Unlike the Augustinian canons who conformed, the Premonstratensian canons apparently were unqualified to serve as ministers. This was, perhaps, due more to the location of their houses rather than to any general attitude against learning. The fact that sixteen of the twenty-five canons who conformed were in the diocese of Galloway indicates that Bishop Gordon, the reformed nobility and the proximity of the strongly protestant areas of Ayrshire could have exerted considerable influence on the conforming canons.⁵

Approximately forty-four per cent of the Premonstratensian canons conformed and served in the reformed church. This is the highest rate of conformity and service of all the religious orders in Scotland. The general reasons for conformity are similar to those of the Augustinian canons who were second in the rate of conformity and service. Like the Augustinian canons, there is very little known about the Premonstratensian canons who did not serve in the reformed church except that some possibly recanted their Roman Catholic faith and others had their portions gifted when they died.

Taking the Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons regular as a whole, the combined orders would number no less than one hundred and ninety-nine canons with approximately thirty-seven canon-vicars and as many as sixty-eight reformed clergy. This indicates that about twenty per cent of the canons regular held vicarages and a number of these were titular vicars. All thirty-seven vicars held vicarages appropriated to one of the twenty-three houses of canons regular and only two canons held vicarages which were not appropriated to their religious houses. The percentage of conformity and service works out to about a third. This is higher than either the monks or the friars.

The Trinitarian friars will be considered next because unlike the other

¹ *Wigt. Chrs.*, no. 347; *Thirds of Benefices*, 293.

² *Wigt. Chrs.* no. 33; *Register of Ministers*, 48.

³ *Wigt. Chrs.*, no. 35; *Register of Ministers*, 48.

⁴ Hutton Coll., i, part 2, fo. 42; Scott, *Fasti*, ii, 359.

⁵ G. Donaldson, "The Galloway Clergy at the reformation," *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc. Trans.*, 3rd series, vol., xxx, 38-41.

orders of friars, they held appropriated churches which they occasionally served in the same manner as canons regular. In the five Trinitarian houses, the names of twenty-five friars who were alive after 1540 have been found. Of these twenty-five, there could have been as few as thirteen still living at the Reformation. Although the Trinitarian friars sometimes served their appropriated churches, there is only one possible example of this in Scotland at the Reformation: John Dalyell, friar of Scotlandwell, possibly served the pre-Reformation cure of souls at Carnock, a church appropriated to the friary of Scotlandwell.¹ In 1504, 1509, the vicarage of Torthorwald, a church appropriated to Fail, was held by a friar of Fail, but there is no known evidence of service at the Reformation.² Robert Gaw, friar of Fail, was possibly reader in 1574 at Barnweil, a church appropriated to Fail.³ What happened to the remaining friars remains obscure.

Because of their extreme mobility and the peculiar problems of identity, the Dominican, Franciscan Conventual, Franciscan Observant and Carmelite friars are most conveniently summarised as four complete orders. As before, the main intent lies with the number of friars who joined the reformed church and where they served. Undoubtedly, the reasons for service varied from friar to friar. Although they were entitled to a pension of £16 per annum,⁴ they no longer received free quarters. Hence, the stipend and living quarters of a minister, exhorter or reader in addition to the pension would be a financial attraction for those friars looking for security. Many of the friars mingled freely with the people because of the nature of their office and the transition from friar to reformed clergy was a matter of changing garments. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the friars did not serve, for their names are absent from the lists of reformed clergy.

Before figures can be given and any assessment of conformity reached, a few qualifications should be made. First, the many friars unlike members of other religious orders moved from house to house at frequent intervals of a year or two; for example, Simon Cornwall, a Dominican friar, was at Perth in 1552, at Ayr in 1557 and at Glasgow in 1558.⁵ This immediately raises the problem of double counting with names like John Smith, John

¹ GRH. Charters, no. 1321; Webster, *History of Carnock*, 9.

² Cowan, *Parishes Med. Scotland*, 199.

³ GRH. Charters, no. 1741; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 386.

⁴ *Thirds of Benefices*, 97-99.

⁵ Milne, *Perth Blackfriars*, 184-7; Glasgow University Archives Charter, no. 16299; *Ayr Friars Chrs.*, 96-99.

Scott and others which are equally common. Second, there are gaps in time due to the lack of evidence; for example, Andrew Philip, a Dominican friar, was at St. Andrews in 1545 and could have been the prior of Inverness in 1570 of the same name and was possibly the minister of Wick in 1567-74.¹ Alexander or Andrew Colt, a Dominican friar, was at Perth in 1548 and was possibly reader at Redgorton in 1567.² Finally investigation at Montrose, which was the only possible source of unprinted records, drew a blank. No records survive at Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, St. Andrews or Stirling. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a higher number of Dominicans would be found in the reformed church if we had these records. Although the whole of Scotland has been included in this study to take into consideration the mobility of friars, many connections are too hazardous to make because there is insufficient evidence and a more detailed study is required in many areas.³

Of the one hundred and one Dominican friars who have been identified in the period 1540-1580 at the twelve houses, nineteen names fail to appear after 1550 and may be presumed dead, at least fifty-nine did not serve in the reformed church, twenty served in the reformed church and an additional four or five may have done so. The six Dominican friaries which possibly did not provide the reformed church with any clergy were: Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Montrose, St. Andrews and Stirling. Ayr, Elgin, Glasgow, Perth, Wigtown and possibly Inverness had all the friars who conformed in their houses at some time. Henry Smith, friar of Ayr, was reader at Glasserton in 1563. John Willock, friar of Ayr, was Superintendent of Glasgow and the West in 1560.⁴ Almost all the friars of Elgin at the Reformation served in the reformed church. Five friars served in churches in Moray and two served elsewhere.⁵ Three out of eight friars of Glasgow in 1558 served in the reformed church. James Fotherington was exhorter at Covington.⁶ James Carruthers was reader at East-

¹ *Laing Chrs.*, no. 494; *Reg. of Abbrev. of Feu Chrs. of Church Lands (GRH)*, i, fo. 198v.; *Register of Ministers*, 53.

² Milne, *Perth Blackfriars*, 241; *Register of Ministers*, 28.

³ In many areas the records of the friaries are no longer extant.

⁴ *Ayr Friars Chrs.*, 96-99; *Thirde of Benefices*, 293; *Essays*, 162, 227, 281.

⁵ James Steill (Kingoldrum), William Simson (Bonach), John Robertson (Lhanbryde), Robert Keith (Dunbennan), John Blindscheill (Urquhart), Anthony Stornoch (Birnie), Francis Wright (Olrig); *Familie of Innes*, 107, 117; Milne, *Blackfriars*, 232; *Thirde of Benefices*, 97, 223, 234; *Register of Ministers*, 54, 61-2, 95; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 339.

⁶ Glasgow University Archives Charter, no. 11616; *Thirde of Benefices*, 263.

wood.¹ Elias McCulloch was reader at Balmaclellan.² John Gray,³ Andrew Colt⁴ and David Rag⁵ were sometime friars of Perth and served at Dunning, Redgorton and Inverness. Three out of five friars of Wigtown in 1556 served churches in the area of the friary.⁶ John Craig, minister of Edinburgh, was possibly a Dominican.⁷ On the whole, the majority of the friars served churches in the vicinity of their respective friaries.⁸

Of the twenty-five Franciscan Conventual friars who can be identified in the period 1540-1570 at the seven houses, possibly four or five served in the reformed church. There is no evidence that any of the friars of Kirkcudbright, Lanark or Roxburgh joined the reformed church. Charles Hume, friar of Dumfries, was reader at Troqueer.⁹ William Sinclair, friar of Inverkeithing, was possibly reader at Bunkle.¹⁰ John Auchinleck, friar of Haddington, was reader at Athelstaneford.¹¹ John Ferguson, friar of Dundee, was possibly reader at Abercrombie.¹² Because of the plurality of names, John Brown, friar of Dundee, was possibly a reader in the reformed church.¹³ Like the Dominicans, the Franciscan Conventual friars served churches in areas near their friaries.

Although there may have been many more, the names of only thirty Franciscan Observant friars have been identified at the eight or nine houses. Of these thirty friars, possibly only two served in the reformed church. Alexander Harvie, friar of Aberdeen, was possibly reader at Fintray,¹⁴ and Thomas Aitken, possibly friar of Perth, was possibly reader at Ednam.¹⁵ This would indicate that no one served from the friaries of Ayr, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, St. Andrews, Stirling or possibly Jedburgh. If John Paterson, superior of the Scottish Greyfriars, fled

¹ Glasgow University Archives Charter, no. 11616; *Thirds of Benefices*, 265.

² Glasgow University Archives Charter, no. 16299; *Thirds of Benefices*, 293.

³ *Ibid.*, 98; *Register of Ministers*, 29.

⁴ Milne, *Perth Blackfriars*, 241; *Register of Ministers*, 28.

⁵ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, ii, 346; *Inverness Recs.*, i, 71.

⁶ John Gibson (Stoneykirk), Thomas Wright (Kirkinner), James Dodds (Dalry), Hutton Coll., i, part 2, fo. 69; *Thirds of Benefices*, 290-1; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 393.

⁷ *Essays*, 227; *Edin. Recs.*, iii, 131, 161, 229, 276.

⁸ Andrew Philip was possibly minister of Wick. See *Supra*, 210.

⁹ Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, ii, 107; *Register of Ministers*, 44.

¹⁰ Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, i, 258-61; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 372.

¹¹ Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, i, 193-4; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 371.

¹² Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, ii, 341; *Reg. Kirk Session of St. Andrews*, i, 190n.

¹³ *Thirds of Benefices*, 98, 153, 228.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 97, 223.

¹⁵ Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, ii, 474; *Register of Ministers*, 11

Scotland in 1559 with eighty friars (a very questionable figure), then there is some evidence of what happened to the majority of this order.¹ W. Moir Bryce seems to sum up the general attitude of the friars when he refers to the friary of Ayr: "the friars quitted the burgh in a body, not one of them appearing as a pensioner under the new regime."² With reference to the friary at Glasgow, he states: "none remained in Scotland to receive the Mendicant pension out of the Thirds of Benefices, and the closing scenes of their mission of self-denial in Glasgow offer an apt illustration of personal poverty as practised among them."³ These statements support the possibility of a general exodus of Franciscan Observant friars from Scotland at the Reformation and although the number leaving is questionable, it might have involved the majority of this order because so few have been found thereafter.

The Carmelite friars are especially difficult to number, but it is highly probable that there were nearly thirty friars at the ten possible houses. The houses which did not provide clergy for the reformed church were: Edinburgh, Inverbervie Kingussie, Linlithgow and Queensferry. From, Perth, Aberdeen, Luffness, Irvine and Banff, a possible six or seven friars joined the reformed church and most of these served churches within the vicinity of their houses. Alexander Young, friar of Perth, was minister of Methven and Tibbermore and in 1569-72, he received two barrels of salmon "in consideration of his great family and household."⁴ Alexander Thomson, friar of Perth, was possibly reader at Canongate in 1574.⁵ John Paton, friar of Aberdeen, was reader at Dunnottar in 1563.⁶ John Rankine, prior of Luffness, was possibly reader at Stonehouse in 1571.⁷ Robert Burn, prior of Irvine, was reader at Dundonald in 1567.⁸ William Smith, prior of Banff, was possibly reader at Inverboyndie in 1563.⁹ There may be some connection between John Davidson, friar of Banff, and the reader of that name at Thurso in 1574; however, identity of name without location is far from sufficient.¹⁰

Thirteen friars defy classification into orders or houses and of these,

¹ Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, i, 159.

² *Ibid.*, i, 356.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 348.

⁴ *Thirds of Benefices*, 98, 251; *Register of Ministers*, 29.

⁵ King James VI Hospital, Perth, (GRH), Section 3, no. 22; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 368.

⁶ GRH. Charters, no. 1702; *Thirds of Benefices*, 235.

⁷ *Essays*, 238; *Register of Ministers*, 34.

⁸ *Essays*, 238; *Thirds of Benefices*, 265.

⁹ *Notes and Queries*, 1870, p. 472; *Thirds of Benefices*, 221.

¹⁰ *Notes and Queries*, 1870, p. 472; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 333.

three possibly served in the reformed church. Robert Fisher, friar of either Glasgow, Lanark or Stirling, was possibly reader at Dalziel in 1563.¹ John Leverance, older, friar of either Glasgow, Lanark or Stirling, was exhorter at Culter in 1563.² John Leverance (Lethame), younger, friar of either Glasgow, Lanark or Stirling, was reader at Carmichael in 1574.³

Altogether, there are over one hundred and seventy-one friars identified and as many as thirty-six possibly served in the reformed church. This would mean that the friars had a rate of conformity and service of about twenty per cent. Nevertheless, this figure is not only conservative but is incomplete because the evidence for the friars does not lead to finality but only to reasonable probabilities. This applies more to the friars than to either the monks or the canons regular.

The conclusions which can be drawn from this particular survey present some marked contrasts. As we have seen an approximate total of 140 religious out of a total approaching 700 eventually conformed and served in the reformed church. Naturally, if consideration were given to the early defectors in the two decades before 1560 when such men as John Rough,⁴ friar, and John MacBriar,⁵ canon regular, were convinced of the rightness of the new doctrines, these numbers would be higher. However, this paper has only taken into account those religious who conformed and served in the reformed church in Scotland using service in that church as the distinctive act of conformity.

Of those who did not conform and serve in the reformed church no accurate account can be given but many of those who failed to serve were possibly older men: too old to conform and too set in their ways to change to something so drastically different. The fact that portions were allowed for all, although not always collected in full, and that some were provided with living quarters for the rest of their lives perhaps indicate why so many religious felt no compulsion to join the ranks of the reformed clergy. Many, however, recanted in order to retain their entire portions and there was hope at one time that their services might be utilised in the reformed church insofar as in 1573 when "the most part of the persons who were Channons, Monks and Friars within the realme, have made profession of the true religion;" it was "thought meet, That it be enjoined to them to

¹ *Thirde of Benefices*, 256-7, 265.

² *Ibid.*, 98, 263-4.

³ *Ibid.*, 156-7; *Wodrow Misc.*, i, 379.

⁴ *Essays*, 71, 204, 206, 226.

⁵ See *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc. Trans.*, 3rd series, vol. ix, 158 *et seq.*

pass and serve as readers at places where they shall be appointed.”¹ Not many appear to have taken heed of this injunction, although by that period death must already have considerably reduced the numbers of the religious. Yet, it is known that a number became readers in 1574-6. Apparently at this late date some of the religious realised that the Reformation was a *fait accompli* and they had to take a stand one way or the other especially if it meant that if they did not recant, they would be denied their portions as happened with the four remaining monks of Culross who refused to accept the reformed faith.²

Nevertheless if only twenty per cent of the religious did conform in Scotland, it must be noted that this number is quite a considerable proportion of the total reformed clergy since ministers, exhorters and readers were scarce in the early years of the reformed church.

Furthermore, the majority of the one hundred and forty odd religious who served in the reformed church were, on the whole, men who joined the religious houses as members after 1550. There are at least two reasons why this is important. It indicates, in first place, that young men for a multiplicity of reasons were still interested in becoming one of the religious at this crucial period. Secondly, it was these young men who were most responsive to the new ideas at a time when their futures were uncertain.

Of these who did conform in Scotland, over a quarter were monks, nearly a quarter were friars and almost half were canons regular. The monks and friars were spread out evenly all over Scotland and served in churches near their monasteries or friaries. The only difference being that the majority of the monks served in churches appropriated to their abbeys and the friars, except the Trinitarians, did not have any appropriated churches belonging to their friaries in which to serve. Only about a quarter of the canons regular who served in the reformed church were canon-vicars. The majority of the canons regular who served did so in churches appropriated to their religious houses and most of these, as would be expected, were located in the dioceses of St. Andrews and Galloway.

It is fair to state, in conclusion, that any account of the personnel of the religious houses in Scotland at the Reformation must be partial and incomplete because there are gaps in the records and many problems which accompany any study of this nature. It is, however, now known that approximately thirty-five per cent of the canons regular, twenty per cent of the friars and twelve per cent of the monks served in the reformed

¹ BUK, i, 280.

² Easson, *op. cit.*, 22.

church and while these are conservative statistics based on available sources and can not be taken as final, the problem of the antecedents of the reformed clergy is now somewhat nearer an ultimate solution.
